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going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. 583
On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, 572
but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger 593
than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary, aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side 592
of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-men- 554
tioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his 791
son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

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554 791 He formerly lived in Kwamata, but moved to Sawari some years ago, when the strength of Miller's influence became apparent there. At the present time he does no hunting, depending upon his sons and sons-in-law for meat supply. His present wife, Christina, was a widow when he married her. She has grown children elsewhere by previous marriages, but no children by David.

592 In a separate house near David's lives Margaret, Christina's sister, perhaps three to five years younger than the latter. She has lived with men, but at the time of my arrival in Sawari was unattached. The reason assigned for this by informants was her physical unattractiveness. However that may be, about a month after my arrival, David's son (by a previous marriage) Joseph appeared at Sawari, having been driven out of Kwamata by the irate brother of his wife with whom he had quarrelled there. It was not long until he had built a house near David's, and just before I finally left Sawari, arrangements had been made for Margaret to move into his new house with him. Also living in David's house is his young son Frederick, a boy of about twelve years of age.

Near David's house is the dwelling occupied by his daughter, Cecelia, and her husband, Joseph, and their little girl, Edna, about two years old. Cecelia is perhaps twenty years of age and the most attractive woman of the settlement from the white man's point of view. That her charms are not altogether unappreciated [554] by the Caribs is evident. Joseph, who is her senior by perhaps three or four years, is recognized as the most accomplished fiddle player of the community, and in this capacity officiates at all drinking sprees.

554 621 In Miller's clearing, taken as a whole, we may thus distinguish two local groupings. The southern half of the clearing is occupied by the respective families of Miller, his kinsman Columbus, and two sisters, Elizabeth and Caroline. In the northern half of the clearing, separated from the southern half by a low barrier of bushes, are the household of David and those of his son, his daughter, and his wife's sister. Thus, while Miller and his household seem to hold the dominant social position in the clearing, David is a very close second in prestige. The social life of the clearing is most strongly influenced by these two men, each in his own way. And their respective influences in the life of the clearing are to a

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The aremi emu is a professional sorcerer whose services may be enlisted to obtain satisfaction for a crime. The aremi is to be distinguished from his contemporary, the piaiyen or shaman, by the fact that the latter's functions are more decidedly religious and healing. In training and technique these two functionaries differ. The piaiyen's chief tool is the maraka, a rattle made from an empty calabash containing pieces of quartz which represent certain classes of spirits: the aremi does not use this paraphernalia as he does not have control of these higher spirits. The piaiyen puts himself into a trance-like state for communication with the powers by the drinking of tobacco water, whereas the aremi drinks pepper water, which produces a more violent reaction resembling fits. Now if a man has a grievance against another, he will go to the aremi in secret and ask him to take the case. The sorcerer's procedure with the intended victim is as follows. After getting in touch with his spirits by drinking pepper water, he will arrange to get near the victim in a casual manner. He will pick up some small object, blow tobacco smoke upon it, and without being noticed, will throw it onto the victim. The consequences depend upon the type of object which is thrown; for example, a piece of offal will cause the victim to rot away, a piece of wood will make him stiff. But these results will not appear unless the aremi has first blown tobacco smoke on the object. The tobacco smoke seems to be the embodiment of the aremi's power. For instance, he may merely draw near his victim and blow tobacco smoke on the unfortunate individual, making a wish at the time. If the smoke touches the victim, the wish will come true. Examples are related of men who have been turned into monkeys in this manner.

The victim, however, may save himself. If he feels that some harm is being done to him, he consults another aremi, who undertakes to discover who or what is doing the damage. An aremi can make such discoveries because he, with the help of his pepper water, can see and consult spirits in the night. He can see in a dark room as if a light had been lit. Having taken a case, he therefore works during the night, and next morning makes known his diagnosis to his client. He tells the client who is doing the mischief and why; and he prescribes certain food tabus which will neutralize the trouble-making machinations of the rival practitioner.

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754 (If a client, in his ignorance, is unfortunate enough to consult the same aremi who has served his persecutor, this fact is concealed by the aremi in question, who proceeds to do more harm to the victim.)

754 791 A piaiyen does not usually use his power to obtain revenge for other persons, but he may use it for his own purposes, that is, to obtain redress for an offense against himself. His procedure is as follows. He removes one of the small spirit stones (tarikano) from his maraka, swallows it, takes a long puff of tobacco smoke, and points his hand at the victim. If he wishes to kill, the stone passes entirely through the body of the victim; if he wishes merely to cripple, the stone remains in the victim's body. In either case the wound is invisible. It is part of the training of the piaiyen to learn the technique of shooting. Upon swallowing the missile, the piaiyen moves his left hand from his neck to the right elbow joint, where the missile is held as in the magazine of a gun. Several "shots" may be kept in this storage space just above the right elbow joint. It is believed that a tube somewhat like the barrel of a gun extends from the piaiyen's neck to the elbow joint, and from the latter point to a small opening between the bases of the first and second fingers. I have several times been shown small scars which purport to be openings for the missiles of this anatomical shooting apparatus. With the "shots" held above the elbow joint, the piaiyen, when ready for action, takes a long inhalation of tobacco smoke and extends the right forearm in the intended direction. The force of the smoke is believed to be the physical agency necessary for the ejection of the shot.

755 If a man suspects that he has been the target of a piaiyen, he may consult another piaiyen, who will endeavor to remove the object from the patient's body. Practically speaking, this means that the supposed victim feels pain in a certain part of his body. He goes to a piaiyen who explores the spot with his hand and locates the offending missile. He then blows tobacco smoke on the spot and sucks out the stone, if it is there. In case the stone has passed entirely through the body of the victim, the operator obtains only blood as the result of his efforts. This sucking can be done anywhere, but if the trouble continues, that is if the rival piaiyen shoots further stones into the body of the victim, the healing piaiyen and his patient retire into the toakai, or consulta-

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or another may be associated with practically every natural and man-made object in the universe. The average layman is wary lest he trespass upon the rights of the spirits or displease them in other ways, but he is often rather hazy as to their attributes and powers. In regard to higher spiritual affairs the layman is as a rule required to take a negative attitude, for generally speaking, his positive pleas and requests to the most powerful spirits can be conveyed only through the medium of a piaiyen (medicine man or priest) or an aremi emu (magician or sorcerer).

In charge of the whole universe is a sort of literary diety, whose name is not known even to the piaiyen. This supreme being is so remote from the life of men that his characteristics are only indefinitely known and are little discussed. He is the supreme power or creator, the first cause, as it were. The priests do not pretend to be able to talk with this head spirit as they can with certain of the lesser supernatural beings; they have never seen him or had any personal dealings with him. He is called iopotari akuru ("boss spirit") and it is insisted that he "fixed everything," that he got the universe started, and even, it seems, had dealings with human beings in remote times. In one of the myths we have the story of the primeval contest, or race, between the several species of animals, heavenly bodies, and so forth, a competition which was arranged by the iopotari akuru as a method of judging the attributes of various things so that they could be assigned to their rightful places in the scheme of the universe. In another myth it is said that a long time ago, this spirit called the people to come to him in the bush. One man of the group he took with him into the forest and changed this man into the appearance of a typical bush spirit, or epo, that is, a being with a long thin body covered with hair, equipped with projecting brow ridges, and devoid of an anus. The humans were naturally alarmed when the man returned. So when the spirit called them to come again they refused. This vexed the head spirit, and ever since that time certain bush spirits under his direction, called epos, have seized and eaten human beings whenever they have had the opportunity.

The head spirit is also, for instance, responsible for the moon and the stars. The nature of these celestial bodies is unknown to the Indians, but the fact that they are believed to have been included in the primeval competitive race suggests an animistic

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776 defined beliefs. The affairs of the natural world are under the direct, although not comprehensive, charge of five classes of spirits, which are directly approachable by the medicine men. Each of these five classes or orders of spirits is believed to be related to an original or major spirit in somewhat the same way that a human family is related to its major ancestor. Piyumari is the generalized land spirit particularly associated with the forest and is regarded as more or less benevolent. Masi is the spirit of the air, regarded as omnipresent, as a spirit which sees and knows everything, and which on the whole is looked upon with some disfavor by the medicine men who find him intractable and hard to deal with, and by laymen who say that he does more harm than good. Lakai Akani is the spirit of the waters, the creeks, and rivers. Ume is the spirit of the hills. Mawari is concerned with many miscellaneous affairs such as houses, sickness, industries.

Each of the five names mentioned is associated not only with an individual supernatural being, but also with a class or order of spirits. Thus Piyumari, for instance, is the name of the chief spirit of the order bearing the name of Piyumari, which has the land and forest under control. All the spirits in a given class are equal, all represent without distinction the power pertaining to the class of spirits to which they belong. Each is equally powerful in much the same way as we think of all the members of a monastic order, for instance, as theoretically possessing equal holiness.

776 823 791 Each of these orders of spirits is represented by a stone of a distinctive color or texture: blackish stone (basalt or gabbro) for Piyumari, quartz for Masi, rough sandstone for Ume, greenish jadeite (?) for Makai Abani, and limestone for Mawari. A piaiyen, as will be described in more detail later, during the course of his career becomes familiar with a varying number of spirits depending upon his success. The spirits with which he can regularly establish communion are represented by small pebbles or pieces of stone enclosed in his maraka or rattle. Thus, a piaiyen who is able to work only with Piyumari and Masi will have only black stones and quartz in his rattle. When a neophyte completes his training for piai under an established medicine man, his teacher presents him with two stones representing respectively an individual of one of the above classes of spirits and that individual spirit's wife. It is believed that if the spirits are satisfied in their

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association with a piaiyen, they will breed and multiply, so that as time goes on an original pair of stones will be increased to a large number, each one representing a spirit of the class to which its parents belong. Additional spirits are always useful to a medicine man, as they increase his importance by being available for errands and tasks which he can assign to them.

The spirits with whom a piaiyen is in contact are not believed to live in the rattle at all times, but leave some of their essence in the material form of the stones enclosed in the rattle. Spirits are believed to live in the same way as men in settlements in the bush, hunting, sleeping, making merry, but remaining invisible. Their settlements are not always identifiable, but open spaces in the forest are often pointed out as the clearings of certain settlements of spirits. Thus, an open space caused by the fall of several trees in a high wind is said to have been made for the purpose of habitation by the bush spirits, and consequently is avoided by men. If only one tree has fallen, it is believed that the spirits started to make a clearing and changed their minds. The water spirits are thought to live in settlements under the surfaces of the streams. Thus the Caribs, who have no anthropomorphic idols, nevertheless pay a sort of respect to these stones contained in piaiyen's rattles and believed to represent certain spirits.

In addition to the five classes of natural spirits just mentioned, there are a number of other types of spiritual beings whose connections with the five major classes are more or less indefinite.

The akatombo[1] are regarded as malevolent or mischievous beings who are forever present, waiting to make trouble. Medicine men do not keep these spirits under their control. They come of their own accord to medicine men who chase them away. The sorcerers, however, are more hospitable and sometimes have dealings with this class of spiritual being.

The tiger[2] spirit class is called ashushi. There are a number of different kinds of tiger spirits, just as there are a number of species of tigers in the bush. Other spirits are in fear of tiger spirits in the same way that men are afraid of actual tigers. Consequently, a

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, pp. 152–153, "The mainland Caribs term a person's shadow *ai-akaru*, and the spirit resident in this head, his Dream Spirit *aka* or *akari;* but after the latter leaves the body for the forest permanently, it is known as *aka-tombo* (*sic*)." The Barama Caribs repeatedly rejected this identification, insisting that the ghost was called yumbupa akasang.

[2] "Tiger" is the creole designation of any wild member of the cat family. True tigers, of course, are not native to the Western Hemisphere, but since the term is used in much of the literature, it is employed here.

piaiyen usually has contact with one or more tiger spirits, who may be used by him to discipline the less ferocious spirits of his circle. The tiger spirits are believed to be the ghosts of dead tigers. All other animals also have spirits, which become ghosts upon their death. Boba root is used by the hunter as a protection against the spirit of any animal he may have killed. For instance, if he has killed a tiger or any other animal which has a dangerous spirit, he scrapes the roots of the boba tree and makes a salve which he puts on his skin. Then he crawls under the buttressed roots of any large tree. The boba salve is believed to entangle the spirit of the dead animal so that it can do no harm to the hunter. In crawling under the roots, the hunter scrapes the spirit off himself. Animals are also amenable to the machinations of spirits of beings and orders in addition to the tiger spirit. Thus, a dog that barks in its sleep is believed to be suffering from the interference of spirits. However, the only way in which a member of one of the five major classes of nature spirits can be killed (i.e. removed from interference in worldly affairs) is by being devoured by a tiger spirit.

Each cassava field is watched over by a spirit of the cassava called Piuku. The precise connection between this being and the Ume, or hill spirits, is not clear. It is believed that each hill in the bush is under the care of a group of Ume, who after the field is cut and cultivated, apparently abdicate in favor of the Piuku. The Ume live in a settlement of their own under the hill, which serves as a roof. The Piuku is not a member of the Ume order, but nevertheless it is not unfriendly toward the Ume. An abandoned field reverts to the Ume spirits, and in the rare cases of fields without cassava no Piuku is present. It is not believed, on the other hand, that each separate cassava plant has a spirit of its own, nor are the other plants of the field associated with spirits. Piuku is thus a sort of agricultural deity especially associated with cassava plants. Concerning the manifestations of the Piuku to human beings, an informant said, "Once my wife and I were digging cassava in a field. Nearby I hear a groaning m'm'm'm. I do not know what it is so I go to the piaiyen and he says it is the Piuku." Another informant said, "The piaiyen told me the Piuku is like a big white man big head, broad shoulders. Has a white skin covered with shiny buttons, but wears no clothes," a belief which is obviously acculturated.

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824 776 gested that even if one succeeded in felling a silk cotton tree, it would be impossible to placate the many spirits in it. Concerning the parallel with West Africa in regard to the beliefs about this tree, Roth says, "the superstitions concerning (this) have been incorrectly surmised as communicated from the negroes to the Indians. . . . The superstitions of the *Bombax* were cherished in Middle America long before the arrival of the negroes: the Mayas of Yucatan spoke of it as the Tree of Creation, etc. under whose shade the spirit of mortals reposed."[1]

Another plant which possesses plural spirits is the washine, a species of bush rope which twines around the trunk of a host tree, completely hiding the latter, which usually dies and rots, leaving the washine standing upright with a hollow tube where the trunk of the host originally stood. The washine is thought of as a "strong" plant, inasmuch as it is thus able to strangle full grown trees, and it may be on account of its strength that it is credited with more than the usual single spirit.

It is related that "in old times" the people were being killed by the tree spirits which were then visible. They used to come and kill people by hitting them on the head with a sort of adze-like claw. People built fires under the trees and smoked out the spirits. The latter could be heard sneezing and coughing in the branches of the trees. The young spirits fell down and were clubbed to death by the people. Then the trees fell down and the older spirits escaped in the smoke. Since that time the tree spirits have been invisible. Originally they looked somewhat like people, although they had the peculiar type of claw mentioned above. Tree spirits were not covered with hair as are epos.

• [791] It is said that a piaiyen who wishes to do harm to an enemy can talk with the spirits of certain trees which, when the individual in question is near enough, will cause their trees to fall over on him. This is, of course, an animistic rationalization of accidental deaths caused by falling trees.

776 The stream spirits or Makai Abani may be divided into those which inhabit the creeks and those which live in the rivers. The latter are sometimes specially designated as tona kanoko (water inhabitants). The creek spirits are thought of as being lesser members of the family which includes all the stream spirits. There is

[1] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 229.

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such a belief is certainly favorable to the development of individualism; it means that what there is to get must be had during life, an acquisition for which each individual must rely on his own abilities; it means that there are no motivations, other than worldly and personal ones, for a man to submerge himself in the life of the group.

It is admissible, of course, that the attitudes concerning the future life are a projection of the loose organization of mortal social life. We are not prepared to deal at this point with the development of Carib attitudes, but it does seem to be indicated that the practices and beliefs about death have a considerable effect, which we have attempted to indicate, on social life as it now functions.

The Piaiyen or Priest. The piaiyen[1] is the priest of the Carib religion, his functions being known as piai, (Plates 11, *b*, and 25, *b*), a field including the subjects which in our own terminology would be designated as religion and medicine. For the Carib, however, medicine is merely one branch of religion. It is only the piaiyen who, because of knowledge and techniques acquired in the course of training and experience, can establish direct contact with the more important supernatural beings and forces. A second professional dealer in the supernatural is the aremi emu, whose activities, to be described later, are concerned with magic as distinguished from religion.

The piaiyen's functions are (1) to serve as a repository of and authority on religious lore and practise, (2) to train young piaiyen, (3) to contact the powers and beings of the supernatural world in the interests of the community and of individuals. In the course of his duties, the piaiyen uses a rattle or maraka in which are contained a number of pebbles, or tarikano, each representing a spirit with which the priest is on intimate terms. The more serious of his

[1] Piaiyen is both the singular and plural form of the word for "priest" or "medicine man" among the Barama Caribs. Roth discusses the variations of this term. "The Creole term for priest-doctor is *piai*-man, a hybrid that seems to have been first recorded by Waterton in the form of *pee-ay*-man. . . . In its simple form, the word of course came into use much earlier, and is seemingly derived from the Carib *piache*, which Gumilla employs, and is still met with among the Pomeroon group of these Indians as *pitsan*. Brett derives it from the Carib word *puisi*, which denotes their profession. The Akawais call it *piatsan*. Dance seems to derive the name from that of the tribal hero, Pia. Crévaux in Cayenne speaks of *piay*, de Goeje in Surinam of *piai*, and Bates, throughout the extent of the Amazon visited by him, of *pajé*. The Warrau word for the priest-doctor is *wishidatu* ("talky-talky" for witch-doctor?) . . . The Caribs of the lower Caroni River speak of these men as *Marirri*, and the Island Caribs as *Boué*. The Arawak designation is *Semi-tchichi* or *Semi-cihi*, the same term applied generally to the kicksaws and various apparatus employed in the pursuit of the craft." Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 328.

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791 rituals are carried on inside a small hut, or consultation room, called the toakai, and in them he uses tobacco in the form of smoke and in the form of an infusion, alcoholic drinks, and certain herbs.

Following is an account, given me by David, the piaiyen of Sawari, of the origin of piai and of how David himself learned the technique.

773 791 Komanakoto was the first piaiyen. One day he was at the river side and heard a mysterious singing. At first unable to decide the origin of it, he finally decided that it came from under the water, so he dived down into the river. At the bottom he found a number of beautiful spirit women singing magical songs. They welcomed him and taught him the songs. After three days he came up and told the people of his settlement of the strange thing which had happened to him. They were naturally somewhat incredulous, so he went to the river again and descended to the bottom for three days. At the end of that time he reappeared, bringing with him not only the songs and the mysteries of the piai, but also the tangible equipment: tobacco, maraka with handle and stones, and arrow stick (from which handles are made). Thereafter he taught other men the piai, and that is how piai first came to the Caribs.

Three other young men learned from David's teacher at the same time as he did. A small house was built, with walls made of palm leaves so tightly plaited that the interior was entirely dark. On the first day of the initiation all the candidates assembled in the house with their hammocks. The teacher took a large amount of green tobacco and pounded it up so that it made quite a little heap in the center of the house. Taking some of this, he put it in a large earthenware bowl and filled the bowl with water. After letting it "set" for a time, he strained off the tobacco water and threw away the leaves. Then each of the candidates was given a large calabash of tobacco water to drink and a cigarette to smoke. Having already supplied themselves with gourds, and arrow sticks from which to make the handles of the rattles, they were now shown by the teacher how to make the maraka. As soon as the tobacco juice began to take effect and their heads "were going round," the teacher gave them each two small pieces of black stone to put inside the maraka. These stones contained the spirit of Piyumari, the land spirit, and that of his wife.

791 787 After imbibing the tobacco juice David lay down in a swoon.

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He went to a place he had never seen before (in hallucination), a place where beautiful women sang to him songs which he had never heard before. This was the place of the spirits, but so queer it was that while there, one had merely to turn his head to see behind him the initiation room and all the familiar faces he had just left. The women approached him, took away the cigarette he was smoking and gave him one of their own making, and gave him their tobacco juice to drink. And all the while they were singing songs. After a time he felt the teacher blowing tobacco smoke on the crown of his head, and he and all the other neophytes returned to themselves. They were sick and vomited, but each one, if he had luck, had brought back from the spirit world a song taught him by one of the spirits in that land of dreams. And each knew that when he sang that song in the future the spirit which had given it would come to him and aid him.

Once again they smoked and drank tobacco water. Then the teacher formed them in a line, and they danced in a circle to the left around the fire, which was in the center of the floor. They kept time by rattling their marakas in their right hands, and, because they were weak, supported themselves with arrow sticks in their left hands as they danced. And as they danced those beat drums who could, and others played violins, and each sang the songs which had been taught him by the spirits. During all this the teacher from time to time squeezed pepper water in their eyes. Then they drank some more tobacco water, and after doing so fell down in a swoon, growling like tigers. And David saw a huge tiger come to him and smell. David smelled the tiger and knew that this was his own particular tiger spirit who would come to him in the future when he drank tobacco water. David felt himself turn into a tiger, and he prowled about the floor on all fours, growling. After a time, however, he felt the teacher blowing tobacco smoke on his head. Waking up, he was given more tobacco juice to drink. Everyone vomited and then they lay down in their hammocks to sleep a short while.

Early in the morning the teacher wakened them. The other people of the settlement had collected a quantity of firewood and had built a large bonfire in the middle of a trail which they had cleared in the thick bush, near the place where the houses stood. The neophytes were told that they must pass through this fire.

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791 First the teacher started acting like a tiger, growling and going on all fours, with his fingers clenched up under the palms of his hands in the way a tiger holds his claws. In this manner he passed through the fire and was followed by all the neophytes, who passed through the fire and turned about and returned through it. The flames licked them, and some came out with their skins blazing.

791 After this ordeal they returned to the initiation hut where they imbibed more tobacco water. Then the teacher said they must go to the creek and bathe. So in a single file, supporting themselves with their arrow sticks, they went to the bathing place. While they bathed, the women of the settlement threw mud on them and made fun of them. They were told to throw mud at the women, but they were too weak to do this effectively. They were instructed to try to catch anything they could find in the water, such as fish or worms. Any neophyte who succeeded in this would have additional power over the spirits of the water. Everyone then returned to the settlement, where drink was ready and preparations had been made for a spree. The neophytes, however, returned to their hut, where the teacher gave each of them a large calabash of cassiri in which big black ants (yoku) had been put. After drinking this, they had a calabash of sweet cassiri "to cool them down." The rest of the people were making sport by this time, in which the neophytes were free to join, although they were so weak that they could not do so very energetically. The initiation was now complete.

For three months following the initiation they were subject to the following restrictions: no sleeping with women; no eating of fish or meat; they were warned against allowing smoke or flames to touch them; they were warned against getting into the steam which comes off a cooking pot. All these things were believed to offend the spirits which had come to live with the new piaiyen.

If, during this time, a man needed meat, it had to be taken in the following manner: it was cut up in small pieces and roasted over the fire on the end of a stick, so that the piaiyen did not get into the smoke. The meat was then wrapped in a tobacco leaf and swallowed as a pill. If the pill stuck in the throat during the act of swallowing, it was apparent to the piaiyen that the spirit did not want it. The procedure could, however, be repeated until

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the pill went down, showing that the spirit had signified that he had become accustomed to it.

At the end of three months the neophytes again gathered and the teacher squeezed tobacco juice into their eyes for the last time, and they were considered ready to practice.

During the period of probation following the initiation just described, the neophyte keeps in touch with his teacher, who instructs him in many matters, including the knowledge of herbs, the ways of the spirits, and the technique of shooting stones into other individuals. The latter process is used theoretically as a means of self protection and retaliation by the medicine man. The technique and philosophy of "shooting" is fully described in our section on Crime and Punishment. A piaiyen never is supposed to shoot a spirit stone into an individual merely from mischief or because he has been hired to do so by some layman. However, medicine men are capricious and often take offense at some wrong which they fancy that an individual has committed against them. Consequently, many ills and pains suffered by laymen are attributed to attacks of this kind of piaiyen. The method whereby the shooting of spirit stones is taught is as follows. The neophyte must practice under the supervision of his teacher with a small arrow made of the central rib of the kokerite leaf and a small bow of yarri-yarri. A small cotton ball, about one and one-half inches in diameter, which serves as the target, is suspended from one of the cross pieces of the house by a piece of string. While the novice shoots at this target with the bow and arrow the teacher tickles him in the ribs from behind. The novice must prove his marksmanship in this way before he is able to shoot spirit stones. If he acquires enough proficiency so that the cotton ball stops dead when he hits it with the arrow, he will be able to kill when shooting with spirit stones; if, in his most successful attempts, the ball and arrow turn around a number of times after a hit is made, his future victims will recover in as many days. Next the teacher places a spirit stone in the novice's mouth and draws it from the mouth through the shoulder and through the arm three times, in order to make the tube in the arm through which the shooting is done. The fourth time the stone is drawn through the arm it lodges above the elbow joint.

In regard to obtaining control over spirits, the following instruc-

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791 tion is given. The teacher makes a long cigarette of tobacco wrapped
789 in kakarelli bark and tosses it to the novice. If the latter is able to catch the cigarette between the second and third fingers (where the "muzzle" of the shooting tube is located), it is a sign that as time goes on he will be able to get into communication with any spirit at all. Also in this connection, the teacher will frequently send a spirit stone to the novice during the night. The novice must see it coming and catch it.

796 To make a good cassava crop, the piaiyen of the settlement calls
787 the spirit of the field, Piuku. First a toakai, or consulting room, is constructed of manicol palm (Plate 25, *a*). A goblet of cassiri, which must be made by a preadolescent girl, is given to the priest, and he enters the toakai while the population of the settlement gathers outside. Inside the hut, the piaiyen places the goblet in the middle of the floor and then drinks an infusion of green tobacco leaves in water, a potion which is imbibed by the piaiyen at the start of most of his religious and healing rituals. The tobacco water causes the practitioner to "speak with the spirits," that is, to have visions or hallucinations. The medicine man, squatting on the side of the hut opposite the door, then sings a chant to the Piuku, asking him to come and partake of the offering provided by the people. In this ceremony the piaiyen uses no rattle, because Piuku is not included among those spirits which are represented by spirit stones. Neither is tobacco smoke used. When the spirit arrives in the hut his presence is made known to the people outside by a low humming noise, the voice of the spirit. Thereupon all the people outside the hut speak to him individually (without formula), asking him for a good crop of cassava and imploring him to drink of the cassiri. The Piuku answers with his characteristic low humming noise, which all can hear but only the piaiyen can understand. Then there is the sound of drinking, and shortly afterwards the piaiyen emerges from the hut holding the goblet in his hand for the inspection of the populace. The contents of the goblet are clear like water and are icy cold, indicating that Piuku has drunk the essence of the brew. Then the piaiyen goes back into the hut and sings a song, thanking the spirit and telling him now to go back to the field, from which he has come for the occasion. After this the piaiyen emerges from the hut a second time and informs the people as to whether the spirit's answer to their

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pleas was favorable or unfavorable, in other words, whether there will be a good or a poor crop that year. It is said that the prognostications of the piaiyen are remarkably accurate. Following this ceremony a drinking spree takes place.

The precise songs which are sung in this and other ceremonies I was unable to obtain because it was impossible to find a piaiyen who spoke English of any description. Using laymen as interpreters, I was blocked because of the secrecy which guards the proprietory interest which a piaiyen has in his incantations. It was claimed by all piaiyen, however, that the songs which each practitioner uses are peculiar to him alone. As he becomes established he invents songs and incantations of his own, or has them revealed to him by the spirits while he is in a trance induced by tobacco. By the process of trial and error, those songs which are efficacious in calling the spirits are retained in the individual piaiyen's repertoire. Medicine men say that when they wish to learn more about the spirits, to establish contact with spirits which are strangers to them, they retire to their consultation rooms or palmleaf huts, drink the usual infusion of tobacco water, smoke a cigarette, and soon the spirits may come and talk to them. During the hallucination they will discover themselves singing songs which they must remember to use on subsequent occasions when they wish to consult the spirits in question.

Contrary to the usages of medicine men in certain other Guiana tribes,[1] the piaiyen of the Barama do not use dolls or elaborately carved benches in the practice of their art.[2] Each piaiyen does use a bench, which is reserved for ceremonial purposes in the exercise of his duties, but these benches, which I have seen in use by the piaiyen at religious observances, belong to the general type used by laymen as pieces of house furniture. If my information is correct, the rattle, with its enclosed spirit stones, tobacco, herbs, and a bench are the sole ceremonial accessories used by medicine men.

In addition to the cassava ceremony, the piaiyen conducts a ceremony, the details of which I was unable to learn, at times when

[1] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 329.

[2] After a month of close relationship with David, the medicine man of Sawari, I was unable to break down his "story" to this effect. Finally remaining unconvinced, I resorted to the slightly unethical expedient of opening, in his absence, the basket where he stored his parapherналia. Here was found his rattle with enclosed stones, tobacco, a number of dried leaves (presumably herbs used in curing), but no manikin or doll.

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796 fishing is difficult. It is said that this ceremony also consists of
791 calling a spirit and making a sacrifice. Hunting difficulties are ameliorated by the piaiyen on an individual basis by curing bina trouble, which will be described shortly.

757 **Medicine.** Beside the cassava and fish ceremony it is said that the medicine man conducts no public ceremonials, the remainder of his activities being confined to services which he renders on request and payment by individuals. In the latter capacity he fulfills functions analogous to those of a physician. Among the matters in which his services are sought are prevention of infertility, prevention of conception, and curing of the following ailments: fever, headache, sores and ulcers, eye trouble, and, in some cases, stomach and respiratory troubles. All internal and organic complaints, however, are difficult for the piaiyen to treat. The piaiyen also acts as a diviner in cases where sickness is due to action by another piaiyen. (See section on Crime and Punishment.)

753 Practically all sickness, including reproductive maladjustment, is due to intervention by spirits. But only serious cases of illness are cured by medicine men. A large number of medicines concocted from materials in the bush are in use by laymen for self-treatment. There are also a number of older women who are noted for their knowledge of curing methods and who constitute a group of minor healers, who are consulted by laymen, usually before or, sometimes, coincidentally with treatment by a piaiyen. The use of material medicines is not inconsistent in Carib thought with the theory that disease is due to spiritual causes. It is believed that the application of medicine to a wound, for instance, is so unpleasant to the spirit which has caused the wound that it ceases its interference. The use of internal medicine acts in the same way, causing the interfering spirits to cease persecuting the patient. Cathartic pills and salts, for instance, are believed to loosen the grip which spirits have taken on the bowels. A partial list of native material substances and cures used in Carib lay-medicine follows.

757 *ara uri*, remedy for headache. Scrape bark, then wrap the bark in
278 any kind of leaf and soak it in water four to five days; then wash the entire head, including the hair, with the solution.

parawakasi (trysle, *Pentaclethra*), remedy for open cuts and sores; a dicotoledenous plant. The two halves of the old seed remain

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832 of use. Although very good results are reported from the use of certain love charms, only desperately unrequited lovers or individuals with adulterous or home-breaking intentions resort to such extremes. Prolonged coyness or indifference is not a noticeable feature of Carib courtship and before marriage, at least, it is only the extremely unattractive individual who cannot prevail upon the desired one to share a couch occasionally. Sexual communion seems to take the edge off romantic yearning. In short, there is little love of the "moon-calf" variety between Carib young people. A man who wishes to persuade a virtuous wife to leave her husband is the most frequent user of love magic.

754 **Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs and Practices.** The aremi emu, or professional sorcerer, is concerned chiefly in acting as magical agent for individuals who wish either to do harm to another person or to seek revenge. The functions and techniques of this practitioner are described in our chapter on Crime and Punishment because of their close connection with law and order.

754 ● 791 It is well to point out here, however, that the methods of the aremi differ from those of the piaiyen in the following respects. (1) The aremi does not use a maraka or rattle, because he is unable to talk with the spirits which are represented by pieces of stone. (2) To induce the psychic state necessary for his art, the aremi drinks an infusion of red peppers, while the piaiyen uses an infusion of green tobacco. (3) The aremi, although able to divine trouble, is unable to talk directly with any of the more powerful spirits as the piaiyen does, but relies almost entirely upon magical practices. On the other hand, both medicine men and sorcerers use tobacco smoke in their practices.

Herewith are mentioned certain magical practices and beliefs which are within the scope of laymen.

224 789 The first time a dog is used for hunting, it cannot be allowed to eat the flesh or bones of an animal which it has hunted. If such occurs, the dog will be useless for hunting in the future. It is believed that contact with the animal flesh weakens the dog's powers of hunting. Orupere, a plant called by the name of a giant mythic snake (Myth 3) because the veins in the leaves are red and branch out like the tongues of this supernatural monster, is rubbed on a hunting dog's nose to make his smell keener. It is extremely difficult for any living thing to escape the clutches of

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a, The consulting room (toakal), made of manicol leaves inside which the pialyen consults his spirits upon those occasions when this is necessary.

b, David, the pialyen of Sawari with his rattle containing the spirit-stones.

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